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Limbur ravine below the valley floor. These villagers played a smaller part than the others in my observations.

On the western side of the valley are three closely allied villages with contiguous boundaries: Dikimpe (both the old and new sites) and its hamlet of Maiyamasang with a population of 114, Alurkowati with 95 people, and Karieta with 56. The remaining 50 of the approximate total of six hundred people on the valley floor and adjacent slopes occupy isolated field houses or are quite constantly absent on visits to other communities.

Although the villages are not rigorously stereotyped in ground plan, a general description can be given that covers the main features of all of them. Each village has from one to seven dance places, the number being roughly equivalent to the number of patrilineal lineages (*bieta*). On each dance place is located at least one of the large lineage houses (*kadang*), which is occupied by one branch only of the lineage. Around the edge of the dance place are the flat gravestones of the prominent dead of the community. From one dance place to another runs a narrow trail, along which other houses are sometimes strung.

Each village has a "head" and a "tail," where properly is located a carving of the village guardian spirit (*ulenai*). The gardens and fields run to the very eaves of the houses, and during the rainy season corn and tobacco frequently screen the houses from each other. The fields then spread outward to spots an hour or more distant from the main village. Throughout these fields are temporary shelters, which are inhabited at the convenience of the owners. The tendency to decentralize habitation has undoubtedly been encouraged by the cessation of head-hunting in the last twenty years.

It is not necessary here to go into detail concerning either the social implications of village planning or the structure and types of houses. Neither of these aspects of living is rigorously formalized—a statement that holds true for almost all phases of Atimelang life. However, a general picture is necessary for orientation. The lineage houses and dance places are manifestations of a primarily patrilocal residence and the basis of social clusterings. The outward expression of such social groupings around the lineage house are the other less pretentious buildings (*fala* and *tofa*), the guesthouse (*neng tofa*), and various spirit sheds of the family group.

The larger houses of the kadang and fala types are pyramidal thatched structures raised on four piles protected by massive wooden disks, which prevent rats from climbing up the posts into the house. Beneath each house is a low verandah generally used for lounging but sometimes also

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342 for feast cooking. Alongside, but still under the overhanging eaves, is
[417] the pigpen. From the verandah a ladder leads up through a hatchway into a corridor, and from the corridor a doorway with a high threshold opens into the main living room under the eaves. The right half of the room, as one enters, is called the woman's half and the left, the man's. The latter is on slightly longer posts, so that there is an imperceptible slant to the floor, but there is no functional difference in the use of the two halves of the house.

Above the living room are two lofts in which rice baskets and corn bundles, as well as some valuables, are stored. Paralleling the entrance corridor, on the opposite side of the living room and above the pigpen, is another corridor, which is used as a privy. The flooring throughout is made of slabs of split bamboo laid across widely spaced rafters, so that it squeaks and sags as one moves.

354 The living room itself is divided down the center by a long, rectangular hearth of earth enclosed in a wooden frame. Along the two
352 sides of the room where there are no doors, shelves are built under the eaves. These are used for storage and sometimes as sleeping balconies.
513 Usually, however, the sleeping as well as the cooking is done in the main room. At night pandanus sleeping mats are spread on the floor with one end free to be pulled over the sleeper. Additional warmth is secured by having a sleeping partner and by keeping the fire going.
342 The bamboo rafters and walls of the room are blackened with soot
354 from a fire that smolders day and night. The air is close with smoke and the odor of human beings. In addition, the interior is so dark that it usually takes a few seconds to adjust one's eyes to the gloom when one comes in from the sunlight.

592 In each house there generally lives a biologic family supplemented
601 from time to time by other kin, bilaterally reckoned. In direct address the tendency is to equate all kin of the same generation, however remote, with siblings, all kin of the ascending generation with parents, and all the descending generation with children. The kinship system is
● 613 of the simple Hawaiian type. There are three major kin groups whose existence is not reflected in the nomenclature. First, there is the patrilineal lineage called hieta plus a personal name prefix—Lethieta or Maughieta for instance. There are about fifteen of these in the Atimelang district. No major village, excluding dependent hamlets, has less [621] than three or more than seven. Descendants of the eldest brother in a lineage are grouped together under the term Eldest House (*fing fala*); descendants of the youngest brother are called the Youngest House

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(*kokda fala*); descendants of the other brothers are simply called middle ones.

Second, there are the Male Houses (*neng fala*). This is a literal translation of the native term. Each individual has six Male Houses, which will be designated in this volume as Male House I, Male House II, and so on. These relationships are reckoned as follows: *Male House I*, the ego's mother's brother and male offspring; *Male House II*, father's Male House I (i.e., father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House III*, mother's Male House I (i.e., mother's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House IV*, father's Male House II (i.e., father's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House V*, mother's Male House II (i.e., mother's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House VI*, father's Male House III (i.e., father's mother's mother's brother and male descendants).

It becomes obvious at once that the mother's brother is the stressed relationship but that it is stressed bilaterally with a slight weighting on the paternal side. Another aspect of this kin group is that it includes all the bilaterally reckoned lineages other than ego's for three ascending generations on the father's side and two ascending generations on the mother's side. It is to be noted that every son has slightly different Male House affiliations from his father. The Male Houses function in exchange relationships especially in connection with death services. A full description of form and function must await subsequent publication.

Third, there is the Female House (*mayoa fala*). This is also a literal translation of the native term. This is a group in which are included all bilaterally reckoned kin who appear neither in the lineage nor in the Male House. It is not subdivided as is the Male House group nor is the concept so sharply defined. However, basically it hinges also on descendants of pairs of siblings, i.e., on the father's sister and the mother's sister. In it are also included descendants through females of Male House kin. The functions of this group are not sharply defined but it is composed in a general way of the people on whom one may call for supplementary assistance in ceremonial and financial exchanges.

There is no trace of brother and sister avoidance, nor are there formalized joking or respect relationships. This negative point may have importance for what follows, since one of the characteristic features of life in Atimelang, as I see it, is the absence of formal structure, especially in interpersonal relationships.

According to the house-to-house census, the number of occupants to a dwelling ranges from one to eight. In this, as in other phases of social organization, there is no rigidity. Theoretically, residence is pat-

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776 782 rests with the eldest male of the foubding lineage of the village, but the whole community usually assists. There may be two guardian spirits in a village, one at the head and one at the tail of the community.

754 Witchcraft, poisoning, magical curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present in Atimelang religion, but are undeveloped or unstressed.

778 613 782 769 Sacred hearths of various types (*ara foka, wa ara, mani ara, je ara, kuya ara*) belong to lineages and are kept in the lineage house when it exists. They are simply four pieces of wood like those that form the frame of the ordinary household hearths. The sacred hearths should be fed once a year. As food is offered the hearth, the lineage ancestors, in so far as they are known, are named. The sacrifices are usually made in February or March when the new corn crop is about to be harvested. The owner of the hearth should abstain from a varying series [262] of foods prior to the sacrifice.

796 At the season when the hearths are being fed, there are also four minor village ceremonies whose general function is to assure plentiful crops. They are given in the course of two months, February and March, and are in order of performance: Hopuina (spit on it), Yetok (water pours), Bol (strike), and Ading (also called Kuya, both of which are untranslatable). Responsibilities for certain duties in these ceremonies descend in the male line.

784 Connected with some of these ceremonies and with the feeding of certain hearths are quiet, or taboo (*si*), periods, during which vigorous work, shouting, and quarreling may not take place. Any breach requires [688] a gift to the owner of the ceremony by way of atonement. Usually these taboo periods last only one day but the most important of them lasts four days and comes at the end of the dry season just before the men of the Five Villages set out for the one communal hunt of the year. During the 224 hunt, which is primarily for wild pig, large grass fires are set. Men stay at special hunting camps on the edge of uncultivated grasslands while the women remain quietly at leisure in the home village.

769 782 There are also more or less elaborate garden sacrifices to the souls of former cultivators of the site. If the site is a new one, sacrifices are made to the *genius loci*, which has been disturbed. The number and size of the sacrifices depend on whether the garden (*uti*) is a small one frequently used and planted to corn, or a large field (*pining*) at some distance from the village and usually reserved for rice.

765 Death feasts, although largely financial and closely allied with prestige, may also be considered part of the religious ritual, since their ultimate objective is to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity of the village. During the first ten days after death a series of obligations

613 476 A more usual outlay is for the building of lineage houses. This is the joint responsibility of all the descendants in the male lines of a designated forebear, and the houses become the center of ancestral sacrifices. To build them, much heavy labor is needed, and in this labor the whole community is invited to help. In return the helpers are feasted, and that means both buying pigs and slaughtering one's own. Since there may be a dozen or more such feasts in the course of erecting a lineage house, construction may progress in short stages over a period of years to allow for the necessary accumulation of pigs.

437 764 602 The death feasts are another object of expenditure. When a man dies, certain of his kin, the descendants of his mother's brothers, contribute the shroud, grave services, pigs and mokos. These preliminary feasts and services occur during the first eight days after death. Then, anywhere from a year to twenty years later, two return feasts must be given at which the mother's brothers' descendants are repaid at high rates of interest, which must be agreed upon by negotiation. They may range as high as three hundred and four hundred per cent. Obviously not all the dead get such elaborate financial treatment. The small payoffs on the burial rites for children or young men and women may be made as a side issue when feasts for their more important kin are given. The bookkeeping involved in these elaborate and long-drawn-out transactions must be carried in people's heads. There is no system of writing, not even a system of tallies, to keep track of their complexity. One man who gave such a feast summarized the transactions in connection with that ceremony alone. He had fifty-seven creditors and debtors involving two hundred items to remember. This was certainly no mean intellectual feat. I should hesitate to maintain a causal connection, but it is true that the singular accomplishments of the Alorese in practical financial matters are paralleled by an equally singular lack of interest in what we should call abstract thinking or theorizing.

153

583 606 The largest, most persistent exchange relationship which a man establishes in his lifetime is with his wife's family. Marriage is in no way a religious or a ceremonial affair. It is essentially financial—the establishment of a system of group exchanges. There is first of all a bride price in mokos matched by a dowry in mokos. The dowry, however, is only about a third of the bride price. These exchanges are not paid all at once, but gradually over a period of many years. The girl goes to live in the boy's house when he pays the first and largest moko. After that the

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